

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 107710

P R 121600Z NOV 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2873

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION NATO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0450

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 12, 1975

(SALT TWO - 849)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF NOVEMBER 12, 1975 WITH ACCOMPANYING PROPOSED TEXT FOR PARAS. 1, 2, 3, 5 AND 6 OF ARTICLE IV.

SEMENOV STATEMENT, NOVEMBER 12, 1975

I

AN IMPORTANT PLACE IN THE DRAFT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IS HELD BY ARTICLE IV WHICH CONCERNS OBLIGATIONS ENSUING FROM THE 2,400 AGGREGATE QUANTITATIVE LEVEL BEING ESTABLISHED FOR STRATEGIC WEAPON DELIVERY VEHICLES.

AS A RESULT OF PAST DISCUSSIONS ON THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED

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IN ARTICLE IV, WHICH ARE WITHIN THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF

THE DELEGATIONS, A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED.

THE TEXT OF PAR. 1, CONCERNING THE OBLIGATION NOT TO START CONSTRUCTION OF ADDITIONAL FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS, HAS BEEN PRACTICALLY FULLY AGREED UPON AD REFERENDUM TO GOVERNMENTS.

THERE IS MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE SIDES ON THE CONTENT OF THE PROVISION NOT TO RELOCATE FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE U.S. AT THE SUMMIT TALKS IN VLADIVOSTOK, THE SOVIET SIDE PROCEEDS FROM THE PREMISE THAT ARTICLE IV OF THE DRAFT MUST INCLUDE THE OBLIGATION CONTAINED IN ARTICLE II OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT OF MAY 26, 1972, WHICH IS IN FORCE, NOT TO CONVERT LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS FOR LIGHT ICBMS OR FOR ICBMS OF OLDER TYPES DEPLOYED PRIOR TO 1964 INTO LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS OF TYPES DEPLOYED AFTER THAT TIME.

AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE HAS BEEN REACHED BETWEEN THE SIDES ON THE BASIC SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS OF THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE IV, WHICH GOVERN THE LIMITATIONS ON SUPPLYING FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHER DEPLOYMENT FIELDS WITH ICBMS, LIMITATIONS ON THE STORAGE OF ICBMS AT FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCH SITES, AS WELL AS THE BAN ON SYSTEMS FOR RAPID RELOAD OF FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

THERE ARE SUBSTANTIAL COINCIDING ELEMENTS IN THE FORMULATIONS OF THE PROVISION CONCERNING THE OBLIGATION NOT TO HAVE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT ANY TIME SYSTEMS BEING LIMITED IN EXCESS OF NUMBERS CONSISTENT WITH A NORMAL CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE.

IN THE INTEREST OF FURTHER PROGRESS IN WORKING OUT MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATIONS FOR THE DRAFT, AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONSIDERATIONS EXPRESSED IN THE COURSE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE USSR DELEGATION IS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO PROPOSE THAT THE FOLLOWING WORDING FOR THE
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CORRESPONDING PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE IV BE AGREED UPON, FOR THE TIME BEING EXCLUDING THAT WHICH IS UNDER DISCUSSION AT A DIFFERENT LEVEL. (TEXT "BEGIN BRACKETS" ATTACHED HERETO "END BRACKETS" IS READ AND HANDED OVER.)

THE SOVIET SIDE PROPOSES THAT IN THIS CONNECTION A COMMON UNDERSTANDING TO THE EFFECT THAT NORMAL DEPLOYMENT REQUIREMENTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE IV, PAR. 5, ARE

UNDERSTOOD TO MEAN THE DEPLOYMENT OF ONE MISSILE ON EACH
FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHER MUST BE RECORDED IN THE
NEGOTIATING RECORD.

THE USSR DELEGATION REAFFIRMS THE CLARIFICATION PRESENTED
EARLIER, AT THE MEETING OF OCTOBER 1, 1975, AMONG OTHERS,
FOR ARTICLE IV, PAR. 6, TO THE EFFECT THAT AS IN THE PROCEDURES
AGREED UPON IN THE SCC FOR SUBMARINES, A NORMAL CONSTRUCTION
SCHEDULE IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE A SCHEDULE CONSISTENT WITH THE
PAST OR PRESENT CONSTRUCTION PRACTICES OF EACH SIDE. THIS
CLARIFICATION APPLIES EQUALLY TO SLBM LAUNCHERS, AS WELL AS
THE HEAVY BOMBERS REFERRED TO IN THE PROPOSAL OF THE SOVIET
SIDE.

II

IN PROPOSING TO AGREE UPON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE IV,
WHICH ARE WITHIN THE TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE DELEGATIONS,
IN THE WORDING SET FORTH ABOVE, CONTAINING NEW CONSTRUCTIVE
PROPOSALS OF THE SIVIET SIDE, THE USSR DELEGATION PROCEEDS
FROM THE INTERESTS OF PROGRESS IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON OTHER
PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT AS WELL.

IN THIS CONNECTION, I DEEM IT NECESSARY TO EMPHASIZE
THE IMPORTANCE OF PROGRESS ON ARTICLE II, ON DEFINITIONS,
PRESENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION IN THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP.
DUE TO ITS ROLE, THIS ARTICLE, BOTH IN FORM AND SUBSTANCE, IS
CLOSELY LINKED WITH ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE DRAFT. THERE-
FORE, REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE DEFINITIONS, CONTAINED
THEREIN, OF THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SUBJECT TO LIMITA-
TION UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, WOULD HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL POSITIVE
EFFECT UPON THE COURSE OF THE DELEGATIONS' WORK ON THE TEXT
OF THE DRAFT AS A WHOLE.

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ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 107760

P R 121600Z NOV 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2874

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THE MAIN THING IS THAT THE WORK OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE FORMULATIONS OF ARTICLE II BE BASED ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974, INCLUDING THE PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY, WHICH IS FUNDAMENTAL FOR OUR NEGOTIATIONS.

FROM THIS IT FOLLOWS, IN PARTICULAR, THAT IT IS NECESSARY, WHEN WORKING ON THE TEXT OF ARTICLE II, FOR THE SIDES TO SEARCH FOR MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE WORDING FOR THE DEFINITIONS OF PRECISELY THOSE SYSTEMS WHICH, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECISIONS REACHED AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, WILL BE LIMITED UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT.

WE ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT AN APPROACH WHICH ENSURES THAT THE WORDING BEING WORKED OUT STRICTLY CONFORM WITH THE OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES OF THE AGREEMENT BEING PREPARED, AS RECORDED IN THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING, WOULD CONSTITUTE A GOOD BASIS FOR PROGRESS ON ARTICLE II.

III

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WE PROCEED FROM THE PREMISE THAT DISCUSSION OF QUESTIONS OF REACHING FURTHER AGREEMENT ON THE TEXT OF ARTICLE IV AND, OF COURSE, ARTICLE II AS WELL, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE INSTRUCTIONS THE DELEGATIONS HAVE, WILL BE CONTINUED IN THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP.

PARAGRAPHS 1, 2, 3, 5 AND 6 OF ARTICLE IV

1. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO START CONSTRUCTION OF ADDITIONAL FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

2. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO RELOCATE FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

3. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO CONVERT LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS FOR LIGHT ICBMS OR FOR ICBMS OF OLDER TYPES DEPLOYED PRIOR TO 1964, INTO LAND-BASED LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS OF TYPES DEPLOYED AFTER THAT TIME.

5. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE:

(A) NOT TO SUPPLY FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHER DEPLOYMENT FIELDS WITH ICBMS IN EXCESS OF A NUMBER CONSISTENT WITH NORMAL DEPLOYMENT, MAINTENANCE, TRAINING AND REPLACEMENT REQUIREMENTS;

(B) NOT TO PROVIDE STORAGE FACILITIES FOR OR TO STORE ICBMS IN EXCESS OF NORMAL DEPLOYMENT REQUIREMENTS AT LAUNCH SITES OF FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS "BEGIN BRACKETS" SIC "END BRACKETS";

(C) NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST, OR DEPLOY SYSTEMS FOR RAPID RELOAD OF FIXED LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

6. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO HAVE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT ANY TIME SLBM LAUNCHERS OR HEAVY BOMBERS IN EXCESS OF NUMBERS CONSISTENT WITH A NORMAL CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), SPEECHES, ARTICLE IV, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 NOV 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GarlanWA
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00450
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750393-1034
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19751150/aaaabsja.tel
Line Count: 252
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GarlanWA
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 08 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: WITHDRAWN <16 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA, 3.4.X9, (SALT II)>; RELEASED <08 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <08 JUL 2003 by GarlanWA>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: DEPUTY MINISTER SEMENOV'S STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 12, 1975 (SALT TWO - 849)
TAGS: PARM, UR, US, (SEMENOV)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006